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Contents

1. Tripuri must sound the War Drum— *Editorial.* ... 327
2. Assam Congress Ministry—*by A. K. Ghosh.* ... 333
3. The Liquidation of classes in the Soviet Union—*by A. Stetzki.* ... 335
4. What is behind the German claim for colonies? ... 343
5. The Congress of the French Socialist Party—*by K. N. K.* ... 347
6. The Pan-American Conference at Lima. ... 349
7. Economic holding of a Peasant—*by Prof. N. G. Ranga, M. L. A.* ... 351
8. The French General Strike. ... 356
9. Notes on Bose's Plan of Action—*by B. T. Ranadive.* ... 361
10. A Scientist's view of Marxism—*by D. D. Kosambi.* ... 364

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THE NEW AGE

11 JUL 1939

TRIPURI MUST SOUND THE WAR DRUM

The re-election of Subhash Chandra Bose as the President of the National Congress has created a grave and critical situation. Never before in the history of the National Congress was the presidential election fought round burning political issues. The controversy which raged just on the eve of the election revealed sharp differences inside the Working Committee which were expressed with a considerable amount of bitterness. Immediately after Subhash's victory came the sensational news of the resignation of the seven leading members of the Working Committee, who had issued a statement opposing Bose's re-election. This was promptly contradicted. But on the heels of this denial came Gandhji's article which interpreted Bose's election as a defeat for his principles and policy and foreshadowed the resignation of the present Working Committee members by asking Bose to choose a "homogeneous Cabinet." Political speculation is rife in the daily press. How will this conflict between the Right and Left develop? Who will win at Tripuri? Will there be a split? This is how the question is posed. Imperialist press is of course gloating over the prospect. "A compromise is regarded as a remote possibility", says the *Times of India*, "unless something unexpected happens during the next four weeks and preparations are going on for a straight fight" (4-2-39).

All this is happening against the background of a serious and menacing international situation. If the rapid advance of Franco leads to the collapse of Republican Spain, Europe would be in the throes of an acute war crisis in two months' time. British Imperialism, in spite of its successive "appeasing" surrenders to the fascist powers, is being driven into a position in which it is menaced more than ever. To-day more than ever British Imperialism is vulnerable. *If we hit out now, we win. An all round people's offensive is the need of the hour. But this demands unity, unity of National leadership, unity of the Congress, unity of the entire people for a decisive struggle. To achive this unity at Tripuri is the supreme task before us. Our enemies expect battle royal at Tripnri. It is wistful thinking. They want the Congress to crack through the pressure of inner conflict. It will facilitate their task of foisting the Federation on India. The Viceroy has recently told us how urgent it is in view of the advance of the totalitarian attack! We have to foil this game. We have to evolve unity out of this very conflict which has arisen.* This necessitates an analysis of the issues around which the controversy raged.

Issues in the Presidential Controversy

Two issues came up in the controversy. One was political and the other

organisational. The political issue was about the struggle against the Federation. Haripura had decided to combat the Federal scheme with all the means at the disposal of the nation. The line of the Working Committee in implementing this resolution has been to wait and drift till Federation was actually on the point of being enforced. In the meanwhile the "experiment of office acceptance" was to go on. The Right wing visualised a sort of a constitutional crisis at the time of the Federal elections leading towards a settlement resulting in modifications in the Federal scheme which would make it worth while trying the "experiment of office acceptance" at the centre as well. For instance Babu Rajendra Prasad who charged Subhash Bose of cooking "imaginary differences" on the issue of Federation visualises the fight against the Federation thus:—

> "What steps this non-cooperation (against Federation) would take, whether there would be non-cooperation even at the stage of Federal elections or at the stage of acceptance of office after election, was a matter of detail and tactics which would be decided on the exigencies of the situation then existing."
>
> (Bombay Chronicle; 28-1-39)

Subhash Babu on the other hand, in a series of statements which he published in December last, had clearly indicated an alternative course. The most effective way of fighting the Federation according to him was to take initiative now, to give an ultimatum to Imperialism at Tripuri and launch an offensive without waiting for the Federation.

Bose and the Seven

Thus, while there is a general agreement on the issue of fighting the Federation on the basis of the Haripura resolution there is difference in tactics to be employed to implement it. This divergence in tactics however makes all the difference. The policy of wait and drift, when read in conjunction with the out spoken statements of Satyamurti and Bhulabhai can only mean compromise and the acceptance of the Federation. Subhash Babu warned against this tendency and made a fight against it, an issue in the controversy which preceded his election. He stated :—

> "It is widely believed that there is a prospect of a compromise on the Federal scheme between the Right wing of the Congress and the British Government during the coming year. Consequently the Right wing do not want a leftist President who may be a thorn in the way of a compromise and may put obstacles in the path of negotiation......It is imperative in these circumstances to have a President who will be an anti-Federationist to the core of his heart."

While Sjt. Bose took his stand on the anti-federation struggle and on his plan of action the seven Right wing leaders who opposed Bose tried to make out as if there were no differences at all on that political issue. They opposed his election on formal grounds—"Re-election was only resorted to, in exceptional circumstances. Presidential election should be unanimous." Bose was accused of setting up new precedents by forcing a contest. They did not want the presidential election to be made the issue of a political vote. They wanted the president to be like the "speaker" in the parliament, who is supposed to be above party-politics. This raised an organisational issue.

Subhash protested against the efforts of the seven members of the Working Committee in bringing pressure upon Dr. Pattabhi not to withdraw from the contest. He protested against their attempts to influence the democratic vote of the delegates.

Vote For Bose—A Vote For Struggle

Thus there were two issues before the delegates when they went to the polls on the 29th January: (1) A militant plan of action to fight the Federation and (2) the bureaucratic manipulatien of certain members of the Working Committee who wanted to prevent the election of a leftist President. The majority vote for Subhash was a vote on both these points. Personal as well as provincial considerations might have swayed a certain section of the voters; but on the whole it was a political vote. It was a vote for a militant policy in fighting the Federation. It was a rank and file vote against bureaucratic manipulation of certain Working Committee members. It was a vote for a democratic functioning of the Congress. The majority vote cast in favour of Subhash gets added significance because of the following factors (1) seven leading members of the Working Committee had deprecated Subhash's candidature and the raising of political issues in the presidential election (2) Rajendra Babu had criticised Subhash's views on Federation stating that they were "not crystallised enough." (3) Jawaharlal Nehru had, in a sense supported the contention of the Right wingers that the issue of the Federation was irrelevent as there was no difference among Congressmen on that score. (4) Gandhiji had not spoken, but the fact that he had not prevailed upon Dr. Pattabhi to withdraw in favour of Subhash and thus avoid a contest was a pointer in itself. That the delegates voted for Subhash in spite of these factors shows clearly that the vote is a definite indication of a swing towards the left. It reflects the militant mood of the Congress rank and file whom the delegates represent and consequently the growing will of the people to fight. Masses are on the move fighting against every form of oppression in the States and in the British Provinces. The realisation of the weakness of Imperialism is dawning upon the people. The dissatisfaction with the Congress Ministries is growing. These factors have swayed the vote.

Gandhiji's Warning Finger

Can we therefore say that it was a 100% left vote? Can we celebrate it as a left victory? We cannot and must not. *It is not a vote against the present leadership; nor can it be interpreted as a vote for an alternative leadership. They have voted for militant action and a democratic functioning. They want the present leadership to implement their verdict.* Gandhiji knows the weakness of this majority. A considerable section of it has implicit faith in Gandhiji. His sensational statement after Subhash's victory is aimed at them:—

> "Since I was instrumental in inducing Dr. Pattabhi not to withdraw his name as a candidate when Maulana Sahib had retired, the defeat is more mine than his. I am nothing if I do not represent definite principles and policy. Therefore it is plain to me that the delegates do not approve of the principles and policy for which I stand."

Gandhiji points his warning finger to the rank and file delegate who has voted for Subhash and says—In voting for Subhash you have voted against me. To Subhash he says, you have won. Form your own "homogeneous Cabinet" and carry out your programme. You think yours is "the most forward and boldest policy and programme." Carry it out. You have my blessings. But I am afraid "the minority if it cannot keep pace with it must come out of the Congress" and the ministries too may have to resign if you make "changes in the parliamentary programme as fixed by the erstwhile majority."

Subhash's Plea for Unity

Gandhiji's statement opens up a disastrous perspective. It is a challenge to unity as well as democracy within the Congress. If every time a minority whose views are rejected were to take the course of non-cooperation no united and democratic functioning would ever be possible. It is an open encourgement to the right wing leaders of the working committee, to non-coperate with Subhash It is a provocation to the Left to accept the challenge of an all-left Working Committee. A Left Conference has just concluded its informal deliberations at Calcutta. It is rumoured that Conference of the Right-wing leaders is to meet in Wardha. Is it a preparation for a battle royal at Tripuri and a split? Only a splitter, an enemy of the people, can wish for such a culmination. It is the duty of the Left—especially of the Socialists and Communists to rise equal to the occasion and find out of this situation the path for unity in common fight. Sjt. Subhash Bose in his reply to Gandhiji has taken the correct line :—

"Assuming for argument's sake that the result implies a victory of the left, we should stop to consider what the Leftist's programme is. For the immediate future the leftists stand for National unity and on unrelenting oppostion to the Federal Scheme. In addition to this, they stand for democratic principles. The Leftists will not take the responsibility of creating a split within the Congress; if a split does come it will come about not because of them but in spite of them." (Times of India 4-2-39).

Wanted a United War Council

How do we proceed to implement this line concretely ? The issue before the country is not whether we have a "right" or a left "Cabinet". The Congress is not a parliament. The nation has more urgent tasks to face than play the game of the Cabinet and the Opposition-however benevolent. *The Congress has been and is a fighting organisation.* It has to be far more so in the future. Each one of its decisions is a decision for the fight for freedom. *It needs a united leadership and a United Congress to lead a united people.* We have to talk not in terms of a Cabinet but of a war council and a general staff. Decisions democratically arrived at have to be carried out with a military discipline by all in equal measure. There cannot be any standing aside in this grave hour. In order to achieve unity of action and leadership we have to concentrate on achieving an all-round agreement on the plan of action which we have to adopt at Tripuri. Let the left with Subhash and Jawahar at the head take the initiative in drafting the main omnibus resolution for Tripuri. Let it be placed before the country for discussion. Let it be deliberated upon by the Working Committee. Let there be a maxi-

mum give and take so that a united resolution laying down a concrete plan of fight against the Federation results. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Bose have to take joint initiative in this matter. They alone can perform the task, in the present situation, of achieving unity between the Right wing of the Congress on the one hand and the Left, the labour and Kisan forces on the other, on the basis of a common plan of fight. This has to be achieved before Tripuri so that the President elect and the Working Committee are able to come before the A.I.C.C. with an agreed and a fighting resolution.

Agreed Plan of Action Possible

The Central question therefore is whether an agreed plan of fight is possible. As pointed out in the beginning of the article we have to deal with two opposing lines.

The line of the present Working Committee has been "Wait and watch till the Federation comes and drift in the meanwhile. On the issue of ministries the guiding principle has been, follow the line of least resistance, no embarassing demonstrations, and minimum violence 'to maintain' non violent atmosphere." On the issue of the States the line in practice has come to individual aggressive aid to an actual struggle of the States people.

The alternative line of Sjt. Bose and the Left may be summed up thus. Ultimatum at Tripuri to Imperialism, immediate preparation for struggle. More militant policy to be followed by the ministries, better understanding between the Ministries and the labour and Kisan organisation and avoiding of conflict in the camp of the National Front, further widening of civil liberties with counter guarantees ensured by the joint agreement between Congress and the Labour and Kisan organisations. On the issue of States—centralised and co-ordinated guidance and help to the states peoples' struggle through the Indian National Congress.

As pointed out in our last month's Editorial, the one is a line which leads inevitably to compromise and conciliation, through the avoidance of struggle, while the other is a line of a people's offensive which is dictated by the national as well as international situation. Is it possible to achieve a common line of action in view of these differences? We say yes. Our reasons are as follows. The line of the Right is understood by its rank and file as also a line of struggle. It is understood as a tactic of "hasten slowly!" With the rapidly developing situation the need for an offensive is dawning upon this rank and file also. The majority vote for Subhash is a clear indication of this change.

The British Offensive

Let us examine this point more in detail. British Imperialism has been playing a loosing game throughout the last year against the Fascist Dictators; consequently it is being driven to an increasing attack against the subject peoples of its Empire. It must defend its imperial possessions with all its might. The continued exploitation is its main source of strength in the coming war. That is why the British Government is taking an increasingly aggressive attitude towards the Indian people as a whole and against the Congress. Inspite of the repeated resolutions of the Congress Assembly Party. the Viceroy has continued to extend the lease of life of the Central Assembly.

The Central Government is being used as a tool to serve the purpose of the autocratic central federal authority. Vital demands of Indian Trade and Industry such as ratio, reservation of coastal shipping, discrimination against foreign capital. entering into new industries etc., are being turned down. The British Central Government is conspiring with the Princes to smash the States people's struggle for responsible government by staging "Organised goondaism" and inciting communal riots. As Gandhiji recently remarked, the states people's struggle is becoming an issue between the Congress on the one hand and the Central Government on the other. Lastly as the Viceroy recently announced the Federation is not far off. Revised draft of the instruments of instruction have been issued to the Princes and their replies are to be obtained within six months.

Our Reply—Ultimatum

The rising militancy and magnitude of the mass struggle in the British Provinces and the Indian states as well as rejection of the Federation by all parties undoubtedly delayed the offensive. But it has not been stopped entirely. With the worsening international situation it is being intensified. Conflict between the Congress and the Government is already developing on the issue of the Central Government of the states and of the Federation. That is why the time is ripe for grasping the initiative for an offensive for giving an ultimatum of 6 months to the British Government demanding complete independence, all power to the people, through the Constituent Assembly. The draft resolution must lay down that if the National Demand is not granted within six months the Congress decides to launch a direct all India struggle, the form of which will be determined by the A.I.C.C.

Six Months' Preparation

This draft resolution must also include the following points which lay down the policy and programme of action to be followed during the intervening 6 months.

(1) Agitation for the dissolution of the present Central Assembly.

(2) A uniform programme for the states. Co-ordinated and centralised guidance and help to the states people's struggle through an A. I. States Committee directly under the Working Committee. All India demonstrations, organisation of relief etc. organised by the National Congress in solidarity with the States people's cause.

(3) A 6 months programme of preparation for struggle. A unified All-India Volunteer Corps, as nucleus of the national Army. Creation of politically and technically trained cadres for the continuation of struggle and organisation under the conditions of repression. Actively functioning Congress Committee, campaign for the purification of Congress organisation without prejudice to its broad basis and democratic functioning.

(4) An essential condition for the preparation of the struggle is the liquidation of all conflict between the ministries and the labour and Kisan organisations. Special efforts have to be made to achieve an understanding between the ministries and these organisations on the issues of agrarian and labour legislations and on the issue of Civil Liberties.

(5) Similarly the state of tension between the Congress Committees and the Trade Unions and the Kisan Sabhas must be replaced by fraternal relations.

(6) Unity with communal minorities, especially the Muslim and the untouchables, through appeal for joint struggle against the Federation. Coalition Ministries wherever necessary and possible on the basis of the Congress programme of struggle, granting of all minority demands and the working out of a radical agrarian programme.

Tripuri's Battle Call

We have outlined the main points of a draft omnibus resolution on the basis of which we want Subhash Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru to achieve unity between the Right and the Left. We are of the opinion that a serious and patient effort must be made to achieve agreement in an enlarged meeting of the Working Committee on such a draft resolution. The right-wingers must agree to accept the plan of the ultimatum and the interim preparation. The Left, the labour and Kisan organisations will be willing to come to a reasonable agreement with the issue of civil liberties. The Left will ever be willing to make sacrifices in the interest of national unity and for joint national struggle. If such an agreement results in an agreed resolution the Working Committee in the next few days, then Tripuri would be an unprecedented demonstration of nation's unity and militant strength. The people's ultimatum would be given, the nations clarion call for battle will call millions to attention. Tripuri will turn a new leaf in the history of our nation's struggle for emancipation.

ASSAM CONGRESS MINISTRY

By A. K. Ghosh

The sudden collapse of the Saadullah Ministry in September last came as a surprise to all not intimately acquainted with Assam politics. The immediate cause was of course, the renewal of license of the Gauhati-Shillong Carrying Company, a Bengali concern, which enjoyed the monopoly of carrying-trade. It was reported that in preference to the rival company which was an Assamese concern, Saadullah agreed to renew the license of the Bengali Company not on merits of the case but moved by other considerations. This acted as a sort of spark and brought about Saadullah's isolation from his own supporters.

The real causes however lay deeper. Political movement in Assam had never reached a high level. This backwardness was reflected in the Provincial Legislature. The Congress with 35 members in a House of 108 was the only Political Party in any sense of the word. The Muslim League had 9 members. There were 3 other Muslim parties with a total membership of 11. The total number of Parties and groups in the Legislature was well over ten. Except the Congress, no party had a political programme. They represented at best sectional and communal interests. They united with each other on some immedi-

ate issues and as easily separated. Factional intrigues opportunist alliances, and corruption were rampant in the Legislature.

Saadullah's Tactics

Sir Saadullah for more than a year maintained a precarious position by playing one party against another, by making Ministers of those who could assure him the support of even a handful legislators, by allying himself with the European planters—the most powerful of vested interests in Assam—and lastly by fanning communal passions. His tactics may be summed up as follows: (1) Unification of the 34 Muslim members into a compact Muslim League Party (2) Alliance with the 11 representatives of Planting, Commerce and Industry of whom 8 were Europeans (besides this there was another European member) (3) Winning over the 9 Backward tribe members by making their leaders Ministers. (4) Unity with reactionary Hindu members.

Such a combinatiun even if achieved could not last long. As early as February 1938, the Saadullah Cabinet escaped defeat on a no-confidence motion by one vote (49 including a number of Muslims voting the no-confidence motion as against 50 voting against it.) The subservience of Saadullah to the bureaucracy and the European planters, rampant corruption in the Administration, the attempt to raise the bogey of "Islam in Danger" in order to fight the Congress—all these alienated popular sympathy. The plan for a single Muslim Party could not be carried out. Once Saadullah resigned, got rid of two Ministers who detested his policy and reformed his Cabinet. This however only delayed the inevitable fall.

The Ministry Resigns

On August 27th, a huge, procession of students and youths paraded through the streets of Shillong to express indignation against the government's granting monopoly lease to the Commercial Carrying Company. Similar processions were organised everywhere. All the pent up wrath and indignation of the people burst forth into a mighty torrent. "Saadullah must go"—became the battlecry.

A unmber of the supporters of Saadullah left the Ministerial Party. This reduced the Party a minority in the Legislative.

The Congress Party in the Assembly seized the opportunity. A no-confidence motion in the Saadullah Ministry was tabled.

On September 13th, on the eve of the Debate on the No-confidence motion, Saadullah tendered his resignation.

The Congress Party with a total strength of 35 was the single biggest party in the Legislature. Moreover it alone had a political programme and could count on mass support. A Congress-Coalition Ministry was therefore the only logical and progressive step to take.

Coalition Ministry Formed

But Maulana Azad would not sanction it. He thought that Hindu-Muslim relation would worsen if the Congress ousted a "League Ministry" with the help of Muslim members dissatisfied with Saadullah. The Congress would bo charged with dividing the Muslims. Strange logic and stranger politics! What Maulana Azad failed to see was that Saadullah's return as Premier would

(Concluded on Page 359)

THE LIQUIDATION OF CLASSES IN THE SOVIET UNION

By A. Stetzki

In what sense are the classes abolished in the Soviet Union? Lenin's "Great Initiave" and his "State and Revolution" should be read again and again to-day in view of the great wealth of ideas they contain which interest us directly in the present era. In the former LENIN writes:

"What does 'the abolition of classes' mean? Everyone who calls himself a Socialist recognises this as the final aim of socialism, but not everyone realises its practical significance. Classes are large groups of people which are distinguished from each other by their place in an historically determined system of social production, by their relations to the means of production (largely laid down in the laws and formallv established), by their role in the social organisation of labour, and in consequence also by the fashion and degree of their usage of that portion of social wealth which falls to their share. Classes are groups of people who can appropriate the fruits of each other's Labour thanks to the variety of their positions in a given social order."

If we now ask ourselves whether groups of people who can appropriate the fruits of the labour of other people thanks to their position in social production, still exist in the Soviet Union the answer is naturally in the negative.

It is indisputable that our social organisation is already so far developed that there is no longer any possibility of an exploiting class existing in it, no longer any possibility of the existence of groups of people who can appropriate the fruits of the labour of others.

We have accomplished this great achievement as the result of our socialist revolution, and more recently as the result of our great socialist constructive work, the dispossesion and liquidation of the capitalist elements, and the liquidation of the class of rich peasants on the basis of compact collectivisation. In our country, there are no capitalists, no rich peasants and no capitalist merchants and traders.

However, we must not forget that private ownership of the means of production still exists on a small scale in our country, that there are still remnants of economic individualism, and that there are still domestic industrial workers, and therefore our laws and usages must take good care that as long as such things still exists they shall at least not be based on the exploitation of man by man, and not gain their profits from speculation, but exist alone on the personal efforts of the men and women who still gain their livelihood in this fashion.

A very important question is whether the fundamental class difference which existed a few years ago between the class of small private owners—the peasants—and the class of the workers engaged in the factories, of a definitely socialist type still exists in the same form to day.

Here, too, the answer is in the negative. To-day both the workers and the collectivist peasants work in undertakings of a definitely socialist type within the framework of a socialist organisation of the economic system, and of society as a whole.

The peasants work together on collective farms and the main means of production are socialised. They work both with the means of production which belong to the collective farms and are therefore socialist property, and with means of production (tractors, threshers and other agricultural equipment) which belong to the socialist State and which are lent to the collective farms under certain conditions through the M.T.S. (Machinery and Tractor Stations) in

order to assist the collective farms to develop a socialist agricultural system.

With regard to the question of how they share in the total social income, the forms and methods in which their share of this income is fixed, etc., we can say that both the working class and the collectivist peasants receive their share of the social income from the public, social and socialist income of society as a whole.

Therefore we can say that the decisive stage of the abolition of the classes has been reached in the Soviet Union because, as Comrade Stalin has said, the whole population of our country—with certain minor exceptions such as have already been dealt with above—consists of workers, collectivist peasants and intellectuals who are working in socialised undertakings and living on their share of the public socialised income of society. And further, we must not forget that the old socialist principle: "He who will not work, neither shall he eat," has been put into practice in the Soviet Union.

It will be remembered that Lenin attached very great importance to this principle and always stressed the necessity of its thorough realisation in practice and the necessity also of a merciless struggle against all those who sought to sabotage its operation or violate its working. To-day we can say that the whole of the vast population of the Soviet Union earns its livelihood as the result of work in socialist undertakings, and that the way to well-being and culture is open by labour alone. Parasites, i.e. those men and women who do not work, but nevertheless live a life of luxury at the expense of the labour of others, no longer exist in the Soviet Union. They have been utterly abolished, and, thanks to our socialist organisation of society, every possible avenue for their return into society has been effectively barred.

In the Soviet Union, a principle characteristic of the preliminary phases of socialism is also in operation: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his labour." This principle is in operation not only in the state factories (undertakings of a definitely socialist type), but also on the collective farms. Just because we have been successful in organising the work on the collective farms according to this principle has it been possible to strengthen the collective farms and secure an increasing improvement in socialist agriculture from year to year.

The right to work, a principle upheld by many socialists and talked about interminably by many liberals, has been realised for the first time in history in our socialist state. Many liberals, illusionists, proclaimed this right under the conditions of capitalist production but under such conditions any attempt to put it into action must fail, and always has failed for the simple reason that the industrial reserve army, the vast army of unemployed workers, is a necessary adjunct of capitalist society: it swells to enormous proportions with the development of capitalist production and in times of capitalist crisis: misery and unemployment are indissolubly bound up with the capitalist system.

In the Soviet Union a socialist organisation of the economic system has been introduced and in consequence, thanks to the socialist organisation of production and the systematic and planned development of the economic system, the possibility of crises has been abolished and the army of unemployed with it for ever.

In our state we have, therefore, introduced the right of each citizen to paid labour in accordance with his ability. In the Soviet Union the right to work is not merely a fine-sounding principle, it is a simple matter of daily fact.

In the rural areas socialism in the Soviet Union has also put an end once and for all to the fermenting process of class differentiation. To-day all members of the collective farms share equally in the fruits of a life of labour which is bringing them rapidly nearer and nearer to well-being and culture—well-being and culture for all, and not for a few.

However, we must not see only the magnificent results of the tremendous historic work which has been performed in the Soviet Union, we must also see the remnants of class differences which still exist there. We must not forget

that the process of abolition of the classes has not yet beeu concluded, that the abolition of the classes is still proceeding.

At meetings we are sometimes asked whether it is still correct to speak of the existence of a working class in the Soviet Union, whether we should still call the Soviet workers proletarians? Our answer is: The situation of the working class in the Soviet Union has changed fundamentally since the Revolution. By proletariat, socialists always meant an exploited class of wage workers in a capitalist society, a class which owned none of the means of production and was compelled to sell its own labour power in order to live. Once the proletariat has seized power, expropriated the capitalists, turned private property into social property, become itself the ruling class and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is strictly speaking no longer a proletariat in the old sense of the word. The working class in the Soviet Union is therefore no longer a proletariat in this sense of the word, i.e., it is no longer a class of propertyless wage-workers exploited by a dominant bourgeoisie.

The working class in the Soviet Union has become the dominant class, the class which is leading and directing the building up of socialism, the building up of a complete socialist society, in alliance with the peasantry. The situation of the working class in the Soviet Union is therefore fundamentally different from its former situation and from the present situation of the working class in other countries under capitalism.

However, in the Soviet Union too, the working class still bears certain features which distinguish it from the other strata of Society, for the workers are the leading section of society, the most highly organised, politically the most advanced and the most cultured section of our working population. The workers were and still, are the advance guard of all the toilers in the struggle for the building up of socialism, and in the political life of the Soviet Union as a whole.

The peasant in the Soviet Union has ceased to be a small-owner; he is no longer a small individualist producer, and his class is no longer a favourable basis for the development of capitalist elements. To-day the Soviet peasant is a co-worker in a socialist undertaking. With the victory of the collective agricultural system, the alliance between the workers and the peasants has become indissoluble. The collectivist peasant is one of the firmest pillars of the Soviet State.

When we speak of the remnants of class differences, the most important factor is that mentioned by COMRADE STALIN in his interview with ROY HOWARD concerning the two forms of Socialist property in the Soviet Union. The state or people's property form, and secondly the co-operative collectivist property form. This difference is very important. We must constantly keep these two forms of socialist property in mind.

The difference between these two forms of socialist property is not a fictitious one. On the contrary, they have developed historically as a result of our revolution and of the struggle of the workers and peasants for socialism. Still further, we can say that these two forms of property are the basis of our whole life in the present period, the basis of our whole constructive work.

On the one hand, we have STATE PROPERTY, described by comrade Stalin as the property of the whole people, the form which has become the decisive factor in the Soviet State, socialised property on which our undertakings of a definitely socialist character rest. In this category are the State factories, the means of transport, etc.

The working class obtained this form of property by expropriation. From the very first day of the revolution it turned this sort of property into people's property. Further, as a result of its own efforts in the work for the building up of socialism it has greatly increased the value of this property, so that today, it is worth many times over what it was, when the workers expropriated it in the first days of the revolution. This property which had been created by the working class, by the organised proletariat, the leader of all the toiling masses, is the property of the whole people. In this case the socialist State is the unlimited master

in the interests of all the toilers and in the interests of socialism. The State draws up the plan and working programme of each factory, and this plan and programme must be carried out by each factory without fail because they represent the orders of the State, acting in the interests of the people as a whole.

No part of these State undertakings can be sold or disposed of in any way without the permission of the State. Soviet law lays it down that no trust and no economic organ has the right to dispose of any part of its possessions (except in the normal pursuance of its business) without the permission of the State.

It is perfectly clear that this property which embraces the most important sectors of our economic system (industrial undertakings of all kinds, mines, foundries, factories, banks, commercial trusts, railway, and other transport, airways, etc.), is the decisive force, the decisive lever in our economic life. Like the land, it is State property, i.e., the property of the people as a whole.

CO-OPERATIVE COLLECTIVE PROPERTY is of a different nature. This form of property is also socialist property. The collective farms are associations of toilers who work together with socialised means of production and with means of production which the State, lends them. They work upon the land which belongs to the State, i.e., the people as a whole, but which has been placed in their hands for cultivation without any time limitation; that is, it is theirs to cultivate for ever. In their work the collective farms also act according to the general socialist State production plan.

Co-operative collective property arose from the Co-operative organisation of the peasants. The party steadily worked for the co-operative organisation of the peasants and for the founding of agricultural productive co-operatives in order to lead the peasants to socialism gradually along the easiest and most understandable path for them.

Co-operative collective property arose when individual poor and middle peasants joined together pooled their means of production — and received additional means of production from the State—in order to work co-operatively to establish large-scale agriculture on a socialist basis.

We must not forget this historical path along which our agricultural development took place or we may be tempted to draw superficial conclusions to our own detriment; for instance, the theory of "development into Soviet farms," according to which the collective farms should be turned into Soviet farms; or the no less dangerous practice, carried out, allegedly, to support and strengthen the collective farms, of attaching collective farms to Soviet farms. In such fashion the healthy development of the collective farms can be hampered and their consolidation prevented. In other cases we have had examples of irresponsible and gross violation of the statute for agricultural production co-operatives.

It must in no circumstances be forgotten that whereas with regard to people's property, the sovereign controller is the Soviet State in the interests of the society as a whole, the controllers and administrators of those means of production in the hands of the collective farms are the collectivist peasants themselves. This difference between State property and co-operative collective property has been laid down in the decisions of party and Soviet congresses and it must be borne in mind constantly.

Whilst it is true that the collectivist peasants administer the means of production at the disposal of the collective, the State is coming to their assistance to an increasing extent. The State has developed a wide network of tractor and machinery stations (M.E.T.) over the rural areas, and it places tractors, threshing machines and other modern agricultural equipment at the disposal of the collectivist peasants in return for certain fees. In this connection special agreements have been concluded between the leaders of the collective farms —the collectivist peasants themselves— and the State organisation—the M.E.T. However, with regard to the means of production actually in the possession of the collective farms, the collectivist

peasants themselves are the exclusive masters.

This is a very important difference and it leads to further differences in the organisation of work and administration, and also in the methods of distributing income amongst the peasants as compared with the workers. In the State factories the organisation of work is naturally carried out by the organs of the State, though of course this is done in closest co-operation with the workers themselves and with their active participation. On the collective farms, this organisational work is carried out by the collectivist peasants themselves on the basis of the model statute for agricultural productive co-operatives voluntarily adopted by all collectivist peasants. This is a most important difference.

Further, in State undertakings all production is the exclusive property of the State, whereas on the collective farms the whole of production—after the subtraction of those deliveries which arise out of their undertakings towards the State—is the property of the collectivist peasants, the masters of each collective farm.

The worker in a State factory receives his share of the total social wealth in the form of wages, and each State undertaking receives its share of this national wealth according to definite principles of economic working. The collectivist peasant receives his income directly from the revenue of his own collective farm and according to his own labours, i.e., on the basis of a socialist distributive principle.

For the instruction of those comrades who have forgotten the difference between State undertakings and collective farms, and who talk as though the classes were completely abolished in the Soviet Union, we will deal here with an essential difference which economic and other "experts" often forget.

We are referring to the fact that the collectivist peasants trade with their products. After a collective farm has fulfilled its duties towards the State it may trade with what products it has left. It has the right to take its products to market and dispose of them there by sale. Further, not only the collective farms as units, but also the individual members of the collective farms have the right to take agricultural products, which have been given to them as their share in the yield of the collective farms to the market and sell them.

That is a point we must not forget. We must also not forgot that apart from the socialist property in the possession of the collective farm as a whole, its individual members may have small parcels of land for their own personal use, their own tools, etc., cows, sheep, and other livestock, within the limits laid down by the statute for agricultural productive co-operatives.

In order to see our way clearly, to adopt a correct policy and to discover exactly how far the process of liquidating the classes has proceeded in our country, we must not forget these differences in the two forms of socialist property because they are of tremendous importance in our whole constructive work.

The difference between the collective economic form of socialist property and the form of definite socialist property as represented by our State undertakings will undoubtedly tend to disappear with the increase of the productivity of labour, but the complete disappearance will probably take place only under complete Communism.

It is hardly necessary to deal at any length with the question of the INTELLIGENTSIA because the situation is quite clear to-day. Tremendous changes have taken place amongst our Soviet intelligentsia, as was made clear, for instance, at the recent *Conference of the wives of Engineers and Technicians*. This conference demonstrated clearly that even the one-time bourgeois intelligentsia, which was formerly closely allied with industrial and bank capital, which refused for a very long time to recognise the Soviet power, which in innumerable instances fought obstinately against the dictatorship of the proletariat and against socialism, and which in part provided the sabotage organisations with their membership, is now in the main firmly and for good on the side

of the Soviets. Not only the engineers and technicians have come over completely to the side of socialism, but also their wives and comrades.

This naturally represents a great victory for socialism. The intelligentsia has become an equal stratum of socialist society, and the intellectuals are full and equal citizens of our socialist society. When we speak of our Soviet intelligentsia, we must of course not forget that not only has there been a fundamental turn of our intelligentsia towards socialism, but that a tremendous process of development has produced a new kind of intellectual from the ranks of the working class itself, a Soviet intellectual in the truest sense of the word.

This process can be observed to-day in any of our factories. Let us take "STALIN," formerly "Amo", works as an example. 968 Engineers are at working in this factory; 61 of them were engaged as engineers before the revolution, whilst the remaining 907 are Soviet engineers in the sense that they completed their studies under the Soviet power and at Soviet high schools and technical colleges, and were never active in capitalist undertakings. Or let us take the factory "KRASSNY BOGATYR"; Here 81 engineers are at work; 12 of them were engineers before the revolution, and the remining 69 are graduates of Soviet engineering colleges. Or the textile factory "TRECHCORNAYA MANUFAKTURA" in which there are 50 engineers. Only one of them was an engineer before the revolution and all the others are Soviet men. In this factory there are also 115 technicians at work, 25 of them were technicians before the revolution, and the rest have been trained in Soviet schools.

Thus, thanks to the tremendous work performed by our party for the training of new cadres, a fundamental change has taken place in the composition of our Soviet intelligentsia. We see from the examples quoted that the majority of the members of our intelligentsia are men and women who belong to the new Soviet generation. To-day the vast majority of our intellectuals are men and women who stand firmly on the basis of our Soviet State and work honestly for the building up of Socialism, and in innumerable cases they are brilliant examples of shock-group workers, men and women who have performed acts of labour heroism have won them the highest distinctions our Soviet land can confer. Formerly the intelligentsia served the cause of socialism together with our workers and peasants. Our intellectuals are therefore full and equal citizens of our new socialist Soviet society.

We see therefore that decisive steps have been made in the Soviet Union towards the abolition of the classes, but that there is still much work and much effort needed before we can finally say that this process has been completely fulfilled. Referring to the significance of this final abolition of the classes LENIN writes in the work already quoted:

> "It is clear that in order to abolish the classes completely it is necessary not only to overthrow the exploiters, the rich landowners and the capitalists, not only to abolish THEIR private property, but also to abolish every other form of private property in the means of production and country, but also the difference between town and country, but also the difference between men who perform physical labour, and men who perform brain work."

That, according to Lenin, is the abolition of classes. The final abolition of classes, declares LENIN:

> "Is a protracted business. In order to attain it, a tremendous step forward in the development of the productive forces is necessary, and we must overcome the resistance (often passive, particularly obstinate and particularly difficult to counter-act) of the innumerable remnants of small-scale production, and the tremendous power of custom, habit and narrow-mindedness which is part of these remnants."

The question of the class struggle in our country, must also be dealt with in the light of these instructions of Lenin. Those comrades who approach the problem of the abolition of the classes in a metaphysical and naive fashion, deal with the question of the

class struggle in the Soviet Union in the same metaphysical and all too simplified fashion.

We must not close our eyes to the fact that before the final victory of socialism in our country we shall have to face many difficulties. We shall have to take our part in a great struggle, although that struggle will take place in different forms than those we have met with previously in the class struggles.

In this sense also must we approach the question of the role of the working class as THE MOST ADVANCED CLASS in socialist society. It is true that the fundamental differences between the working class and the peasantry no longer exist but the working class still represents the most progressive, the enlightened and the most cultured section of our socialist society. It would be criminal to forget this: the mere mention of the STAKHANOV MOVEMENT is sufficient to remind us of the tremendous power and the leading role of the working class in our socialist society. This leading role is still of enormous importance to-day and the working class is fulfilling it on a wider scale, to a greater extent and with greater energy than ever before. The working class has proved its claim to the leading role in socialist society in another respect also: it marches at the head of all other sections of the toilers in that question which to-day is decisive for us: the question of the increase of labour productivity, and in consequence the final victory of socialism. The working class is also leading all other sections of the toilers in establishing a new SOCIAL DISCIPLINE, without which naturally no high level of productivity can be obtained.

It is equally clear that our Bolshevist Party will continue in the future as far as we can see it to-day, to be the leader of the working class, and its fighting organisation, embracing not only the best elements in the working class, but also the best elements in all other sections of the toiling masses, and organising them in order to lead the toiling masses as a whole to the final and complete victory of Communism. To forget, deny or seek to avoid the significance of this question would also be a crime.

Very often we are asked questions concerning the character of our State and whether a state is necessary at all in a society in which classes have been abolished. The character of our State has naturally changed to a certain extent in recent years because it is now really a people's State, a fact which finds its expression in the new Soviet Constitution.

Now that the peasants have collectivised themselves and the alliance between the workers and peasants has become so firm that it is absolutely indissoluble, we are able to abolish those special constitutional privileges enjoyed by the workers but not by the peasants with regard to the election to the soviets. Our new franchise will be a full and general franchise in the fullest sense of the term.

However, it would be a very dangerous nonsense to conclude therefrom that there is no longer any justification or need for the working class to continue to fulfil its leading role.

The working class will continue to fulfil its leading role in socialist society even after the introduction of our new constitution. However, it will work no longer by means of special privileges laid down in law, but by virtue of the enormous confidence which it has rightly won amongst all sections of the toilers.

When we speak of the role of the working class and the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat to-day we must remember the words of LENIN, which are of tremendous importance to-day:

> "The dictatorship of the proletariat means, to translate a latin scientific and historic-philosophic conception into simpler language:
>
> "Only a certain class, namely the urban working class, the industrial factory working class is in a position to lead the great mass of the toilers and exploited, in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, in the process of that overthrow, in the struggle to hold and consolidate the victory once it has been obtained, in the struggle for the creation of a new, socialist order, in the struggle for complete abolition of the classes."

Naturally, the dictatorship of the proletariat does not remain unchanged irrespective of the particular stage of the building up of socialism in which we find ourselves. In the process of changing society, in the process of changing social conditions, it also changes itself.

There are still remnants of the class enemy left in our country and they still oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat to the utmost of their power, with all recklessness and emergy, and they will continue to do so as long as they exist. Naturally, the damage they can do to-day is as such nothing compared with the situation at the beginning of the revolution and even a few years ago when the chief task of the dictatorship of the proletariat was the use of force to cast down and hold down the class of oppressors who had been driven from their position, to crush the resistance of these elements and strengthen the dominance of the proletariat over the defeated bourgeoisie.

To-day the dictatorship of the proletariat is faced with a different task as its main one: the task of educating all sections of the toiling masses in the struggle for the complete destruction of all the remnants of the capitalism both in our economic system and in the consciousness of our citizens, in the struggle for the socialist education of the masses of the people, and in the struggle for the complete abolition of the classes and all class distinctions.

In this sense therefore, in the sense of educating and directing, we can say that the dictatorship of the proletariat will remain. The proletariat, whose leadership is recognised and followed by all other sections of the toiling masses, is still at the head of these masses and will remain there within the frame-work of the new Soviet Constitution, at a new stage of development, and within the framework of our new socialist society which we must now cleanse of all the birthmarks capitalism has left on it.

The class struggle in our country has not been finally abolished. The socialist education of our citizens also represents a particular phase of the class struggle. The struggle for the defence and consolidation of socialised property is also a class struggle, and the struggle for the establishment and consolidation of social discipline is similarly a part:cular phase of the class struggle.

However, in this class struggle we do not proceed exclusively with methods of compulsion, but also with methods of conviction, but nevertheless, it is still a class struggle against the forces, habits and traditions of an old society.

We need the State even under socialism. We need the State in order to protect our socialist property which forms the basis of our Soviet system. We need the State in order to carry out our principle: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his labour." We need the State in order to awaken and consolidate the new social socialist discipline, the feeling of duty and the new socialist attitude towards labour. Without all these things, we should never be able to build up socialism.

We also need the Soviet State in order to maintain the defensive capacities of our country, to keep the Red Army at the height of its possibilities and thus defend our country from attacks by the capitalist robbers. At the same time our Soviet State is necessary to deal with the agents of these outside enemies within our country, and to crush their nefarious plans before they can come to fruition.

Our PARTY, which leads the working class and all the toilere, can already show fundamental successes in the struggle for the abolition of the classes. The chief and fundamental difference between the worker and the collectivist peasant has already been abolished, but remnants of class distinctions still remain, and the process of the abolition of the classes is therefore still proceeding. The members of our party must show a new advance of class-consciousness, discipline and organisation, and a wide scale development of their educational work if they are to march forward under the leadership of our great COMRADE STALIN to the final abolition of the classes and of all class distinctions, and to the full establishment of a Communist society.

WHAT IS BEHIND THE GERMAN CLAIM FOR COLONIES?

(From Our London Correspondent)

The claim by Germany for the return of the colonies taken from her at Versailles is likely to become of major importance during the next few months and it is essential that socialists and progressives generally should understand the questions at issue and avoid falling into either of the complementary errors of defending the right of British Imperialism to these colonies or helping German Fascism to extend its rule to them.

Land Policy *vs.* Colonial Policy

It is necessary to begin with a discussion of the German claim and reasons for it. It is interesting to notice that in "Mein Kampf", written seven years before he came to power and still the bible of National Socialism, Hitler rejects the demand for colonies as side-tracking Germany's real needs. Germany, he said, needed not colonies but land in Europe. He divided the process by which Germany would recover her strength and achieve world dominion into two stages. In the first, Germany would be struggling for domination of Europe; she must seek to expand into South-East Europe and to conquer and dominate the Ukraine. During this period she must smash and destroy the might of France, and in order to dox this, must keep on friendly terms with Britain and Italy. During this period the possession of colonies would be a weakness; for they would be difficult to defend and would mean quarrelling with Britain. Once domination of Europe had been achieved, once France had been smashed and the Soviet Union reduced to serfdom, then Germany could go forward to fight Britain for domination of the world and only then would the question of colonies arise.

The 'Mein Kampf' Line

On the whole the programme of "Mein Kampf" has been faithfully carried out up to now by Hitler: but in spite of the attitude of his book on the question the Nazis have carried on an intensive campaign for the return of the colonies, both by propaganda inside Germany and by sending spies and propagandists to the colonies to carry on propaganda there. There are several reasons for this. One is that the demand for colonies is useful for internal propaganda and prestige. Most important, the demand for colonies has been a useful instrument of blackmail against the Western Powers. "Give me a free hand in Europe", Hitler in effect saide to them, "or I will turn against you to demand and take the colonies." Since Munich, however, the demand for colonies takes on a new aspect; for through the complicity of Chamberlain German domination of Europe has to a large extent been realised; France has been severely weakened by the treachery of Daladier; and the success of the Five Year Plans and the enormous strength of the Soviet Union have caused Hitler to revise his opinion about the possibility of conquering the Ukraine. It is by no means impossible that he will make the return of colonies a major issue in the next few months.

Why He Wants Colonies

We turn to an examination of the grounds on which the German demand for colonies is made. The reason to which most prominence is given in the nazi statements is the economic importance of her former colonies to Germany as a source for obtaining raw materials and a home for settlement of her surplus population.

When we examine these reasons in relation to the facts we find that there is very little basis for them. If Germany is suffering from a shortage of raw materials it is not because of her lack of colonies. The main raw materials are not produced to any great extent in colonial areas; the largest producers of raw materials are sovereign states—the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Europe itself. The most important industrial raw materials—iron, coal, petroleum copper—are produced to an overwhelming extent in non-colonial areas. For only a few essential raw materials does the total colonial production form a large part of world production—for vegetable oils (over 90%: mainly from Nigeria, Dutch East Indies, and Belgian Congo) for Rubber (96%: from Malaya and Dutch E.I.), Tin ore (57%: from Malaya and Dutch E. I.), Phosphates, 52% (from French Africa) and copper, (21%: from North Rhodesia and Belgian Congo).

As regards the actual former German colonies, they are very poor and produce little of importance. Tanganyika produces Sisal, which is used for making ropes; the Cameroons produce 3.6% of the world's cocoa; South-West Africa produces mainly livestock. The total annual exports of the two largest colonies, South-West Africa and Tanganyika are in each case about 3,000,000. The fact is that Germany entered late into the scramble for colonies and secured only comparatively poor areas. Before the war the exports from Germany to her colonies formed only 0.6% of her total exports, and the imports 0.5% of her total imports. Nor can it be said that they formed an outlet for surplus population: in 1913 the total number of Germans in the colonies was under 20,000, less than the number in Paris at that time. South-West Africa is mainly desert, and Tanganyika is in most parts too tropical for white settlement, as are most of the colonial areas of the world.

As Black-mail and Base For Attack

These facts prove that economic reasons cannot be the main feature causing the German demand. Apart from the reasons we have already suggested—blackmail and internal prestige—it is probable that the main reason Hitler demands the former colonies is their usefulness as a base for attack on other colonial areas more valuable to him—the Belgian Congo, South Africa. It would seem that the Nazi's mean their main drive of expansion to be Southward and Eastward, through the Balkans and Turkey down to Persia and eventually on to threaten India. With the co-operation of Italy the possession of naval and air bases in Africa would be extremely useful in cutting the lines of communication of Britain with India; and Tanganyika could be used with the help of the Italians in Abbysinia to bring all East Africa under Fascist rule and form a base for an attack on India.

The factor of internal prestige needs also to be emphasized. Hitler's hold on the German people depends largely on

his ability to win striking diplomatic victories and the return of colonies would contribute to strengthening his regime.

While the role of colonies in European politics must be discussed if we are to understand the questions at issue, it must be clearly understood that these considerations cannot be the dominant ones in the mind of any sincere socialist in framing his attitude on the matter, any more than can be attention to the nonsense about the "justice" of the German claims. The dominant consideration must be the welfare and freedom of the peoples of the colonies.

From this point of view there is certainly a great deal to be said against handing back the colonies to Germany. The record of German rule in her colonies before the war is an appalling story of brutality and wholesale murder. In South-West Africa, for example, the majority of the native population (90,000 out of 130,000) were deliberately wiped out after a rebellion in 1904 by driving them from the water wells to die of thirst in the desert. The history of German East Africa and the Cameroons contains similarly incidents worse than the foulest of British attrocities. With the racial doctrines of the Nazis, and with the lack of any opposition in Germany (for under the Kaiser the Social Democrats did campaign against the German colonial policy and did succeed in getting rid of some of the worst aspects) there is no doubt that the consequences of German rule would be horrible.

Colonial Problem

If British Imperialism [is better than German that is largely because the standard of comparison is so low. *For Socialists there can be no question of chosing the least evil of rival imperialism; Socialism stands unequivocally for the ending of all imperialism and the freeing of the peoples oppressed by it.* Socialists both in Britain and in the Empire must use the publicity given to the colonial question by the German demand as an oportunity to show how the Empire is ruled and to put forward their demands for the complete Independence of colonies. They must bring the entire labour movement actively into the fight against Imperialism. At the same time, by pointing out the part that Imperialism plays in making for war, by showing that only as free peoples can the colonies play their part in the fight against Fascism, by exposing the true conditions in the Empire, they can with the widest support among progressives and others, anxious to work against war and Fascism but who are not prepared for the immediate freeing of the colonies, for a programme of immediate democratic demands which would greatly help forward the eventual freeing of the colonies. Such a programme would include a fixed time limit for the attainment of self-government by the colonies, prohibition of further alienation of land from the natives and the return of land already alienated, improved labour conditions including freedom to form trade unions and to strike, abolition of forced labour, and a vast extension of educational and health facilities. Such a programme would greatly simplify the winning of freedom by the colonial peoples themselves. We may add that what we have said is intended only as sketch of a Popular Front programme for colonies; in practice the conditions of each colony would have to be studied and a programme drawn up to meet

its peculiar conditions; India, for example, is in a position quite different from the African colonies. In left circles in Britain auggestions have been made that as an immediate solution of the problem colonies should be placed under some form of international administration, either by placing all colonies under a League of Nations mandate or by handing them over to International commissions to rule them without discriminating between one European nation and another. These ideas cannot appeal te any socialist. As regards the idea of an extension of the League mandate system, it must be said that in view of the present weakness of the League it is difficult to see how it could keep an effective check on the manner in which the mandatory power rules the colony. Rule of colonies by an International Commission is probably unworkable; it has been tried in a few cases (e.g. the New Hebrides) and has proved unsuccessful owing to disagreements between the joint rulers, which are inevitable when each nation has its own ideas on Native policy. These suggestions look at the problem far too much from the point of veiw of European politics rather than of native rights; it is hard to see how the rule of a colony by two or three powers could mean anything but the double or treble exploitation of its peoples by the nationals of these powers combined, especially as the fact that no one power would be responsible for what was done would make it more difficult for the European democrats to keep any check on the methods of rule.

The Dodge of International Commission

There is another most important reason from the point of view both of democracy in Europe and of the colonial peoples which makes it very dangerous for socialists to be misled into supporting this suggestion of international administration. We have not yet asked what the reaction of Chamberlain and his government is likely to be to the German demand. It seems extremely unlikely that there will be any outright handing over of colonies to Hitler. Such a move would irreparably damage British prestige, already badly shaken, and would lead at once to the break-up of the Empire. The Dominions would lose their main tie—their faith in the will and ability of Britain to defend them against aggression—and would look to other powers mainly the U.S.A.—for support. Chamberlain is prepared to go a long way to help the spread of Fascism, but it must never be forgotten that it is the preservation of British Imperialism which is his motive in helping it. He is likely therefore to use the colonies as a bargaining counter with Hitler, but what he will offer Hitler will not be the colonies themselves but a share in their exploitation. A suggestion of a scheme for joint exploitation of the colonies has already been made in a leading article by the London "Times". Suggestions of rule of colonies by International Commissions would therefor simply play into Chamberlain's hands. These "International Commissions" would be set up as part of the Four-Power pact, as a bargaining counter to be used to turn Hitler from the West to attack the Soviet Union. They would mean, not democracy in the colonies, but a combination of Western Imperialism with Fascism to smash the democratic rights that have so far been won by the colonial peoples, to suppress their struggle for independence, and to intensify their

oppression by joint exploitation. Such a plan would fit Chamberlain's plans very well indeed, and there can be no doubt that it is the main threat which socialists must combat.

If Socialists and progressives in the Imperialist countries and in the colonies realise their unity in the fight against Fascism and Imperialism and help each other in maintaining and enlarging democracy throughout the world, they can succed in wiping away all oppression of one people by another and by its own ruling class. But if they do not realise this unity, if those in Imperialist countries who are against war and Fascism do not realize the connection of these things with Imperialism and sacrifice the colonial peoples to obtain a temporary respite for themselves from war with Fascism; or if the colonial peoples in struggling for their independence fail to see how that involves a struggle against Fascism and ally themselves with anti-democratic forces, then each will be betraying the other, both will be lost.

THE CONGRESS OF THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY

By K. N. K.

The extra-ordinary Congress of the French Socialist Party, which recently met at Montrouge to consider problems of home and foreign policy has declared strongly against Munich and the Daladier Government. Two main trends characterised the deliberations of the Conference on foreign policy: a minority led by Paul Faure, the General Secretary of the Party, advocating a policy of "pacifism" and of concessions to Hitler; and a majority led by Blum, Zyromsky and Lebas, who stand for the principle of the collective organisation of peace based on firm resistance to Fascist aggression. All efforts made to produce a "synthesis" of these two diametrically opposed lines naturally ended in failure. By a majority of 4,322 votes againtt 2,837, with 1,014 abstentions, the resolution proposed by the Blum section was carried.

The Issue—For Munich or Against

This resolution calls for an organised system of collective security, respect for pacts of mutual assistance, resistance to Fascist aggression and defence of the country based on a true rallying of the masses of the people. The source of the urgent war menace is correctly traced to the "politics of domination and of conquering proselytism" pursued by the Fascist States. It is recognised that it is futile to rely exclusively on the military might of an isolated France or on the mere sympathy of the great democracies, but that it is essential to have a firm and organised system of mutual assistance pacts with all democratic and peace-loving States, Pacts which should be adhered to loyally and courageously. In the forefront of such Pacts are placed the Anglo-Soviet Entente and the Franco-Soviet Pact. The important fact

is recognised that in the interests of the security of the French nation, the occupation by eventual enemies of dominating strategic positions such as Spain, the Balearies and the Canaries, should not be allowed. France should be safeguarded against the danger of war, externally by the "organisation of general peace" and internally by "the rallying and bringing to the forefront of all the energies of the nation and above all of the energy of the toiling masses whose strength and confidence represent the most valuable force in the country." The main problem that was decided at Montrouge was, as the *Frankfurt Gazette* was forced to recognise, this: "*For Munich or Against*.

Concessions or War?

In an excellent speech, Leon Blum explained and elaborated the resolution. In his own words: "Our effort for peace should not lead the working class along the path of unlimited concessions (to Fascism). In considering the risk of war, one should not lose sight of the risk of losing all liberty and all democracy." He made it clear that the form in which the minority posed the question, "Concessions or war? was fallacious- He called for a realistic analysis of the world situation and of the aftermath of Munich. After examining the policy pursued by the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis, Blum declared that those who advocate a policy of allowing Germany a free hand in Central and South-East Europe, are closing their eyes to the fundamental fact of the existence of the Fascist axis and of the organised and co-ordinated policy pursued by it. A free hand for Germany in the East would eventually mean a much stronger Germany turning back against France and her colonies. On the question of the Anglo-French Entente so much is played upon by the "pacifist" minority. Blum correctly observed, that while it is difficult for France to separate her action from that of England, the contrary is equally true. France should not allow her foreign policy to be decided or dominated by England, but by pursuing a firm and independent policy she would be able to carry England along with her. Supporting the idea of an international conference of all States suggested by President Roosevelt, Blum made it clear that such a Conference should not be made a cloak for strengthening the Fascist powers and facilitating Fascist aggression. He added that the essential preliminary for the calling of such a Conference should be the withdrawal by the German and the Italian Governments of all their troops from Spanish territory.

Decree Laws Condemned

On the question of home policy, there was much greater agreement. By a majority of 7,076 votes against 910, with 218 abstentions, the Conference passed a resolution condemning the policy of Reynaud decree-laws which has led to "an intolerable repression of the working class" and which has only been rendered possible by the formation of a reactionary Parliamentary bloc opposed to the popular will. The party declared itself totally opposed to such a Government and added that it would only support a Government resting on a popular and republican majority which would unequivocally defend democracy and the rights of the toiling masses and apply an economic and financial programme similar to that presented by the Blum Government in April 1936.

Lessons of Munich Learnt

The French socialists have thus at last learnt the lesson of Munich. They have preserved their unity and they have declared strongly in favour of a policy of effective collective security and an organised collective system of peace based externally on firm resistance to Fascist aggression and internally on the preservation of democracy and working-class rights. That is why the Goebbels press, and, obediently following its lead, the reactionary Right-wing French press called them the "party of war" and "bellicose Marxists." It is true that certain urgent questions, such as unity with the Communist Party, united action for Spain, and the convening of an international working-class Conference, were not considered at all. But the first steps in the right direction have been taken. What the Communists declared about the Munich accord three months ago, that is "an extremely severe blow against peace, against France and against democracy" is now being learnt by the socialists through their own experience. An united working-class will awaken and lead all the popular forces of France against the Munich policy and, its executors, the Daladier-Bonnet Government. The Popular Front has its life in the popular will of the masses, of the working class and the middle classes of France. It rests on the essential base of the political and economic life of the French people. The unity of the French people against Munich, against Fascism, both internal and external, is being welded rapidly in the struggle against the Daladier-Bonnet Government. *The Popular Front is being purged of its "Fifth Column."*

THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE AT LIMA

(An American Correspondent)

The representatives of the American States gathered at Lima produced a united declaration which will be a very valuable reinforcement to the democratic and peace front in every part of the world. The 'declaration of Lima' contains all the principles of organisation of international peace for which democrats are fighting everywhere. It proclaims "inadmissable all intervention by one country in the internal affairs of another country, whichever it may be." This doctrine of respect for the independence of all peoples is the firm and salutory reply of America to the technique of aggression practised by Nazi Germany and her partners of the 'Anti-Comintern Axis' under the flag of the 'fight against Bolshevism.' The American Republics do not intend to follow the pernicious and treacherous example of the so-called Western democracies. These latter are following the policy of keeping up the fascists of Rome and Berlin as the 'gendarmes of order in Europe' namely, as the bulwark against all democratic and working-class movements—a policy which is rapidly leading to a situation where their very existence will be placed in grave jeopardy.

Lima Declares for Peace and Democracy

In the Europe of 1938, the Europe of Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain and Daladier, international treaties and obligations receive scant respect. Force is the supreme arbiter of international relations. The reply of the American powers to this is clear and unequivocal: that the cause of peace will not be served by regarding treaties as 'scraps of paper'. The Lima declaration points out:—"The respect for, and faithful observance of obligations contracted from the international point of view, constitute the indispensable base for the well-being of international relations and these obligations can be modified only by the consent of the parties." Here is the reply to Spain, Czechoslovakia, Abyssinia and China—the reply to the Fascist gangsters and their Imperialist accomplices.

That is not all. Under the sham pretext of not wishing to take part in "ideological blocs", the Governments of Great Britain and France have everywhere allowed a free hand to the anti-democratic crusade of Fascism. At the very moment when Hitler was burning the synagogues and persecuting the Jews and Catholics, Daladier was organising dinners for the Nazi hangman, Ribbentrop, from which Jewish Ministers were excluded. Chamberlain's record is well-known. America has firmly repudiated this criminal example. The Lima Conference has condemned in categorical terms all "racial and religious intolerance." The representative of President Roosevelt at Lima, Cordell Hull, declared, "are determined to present a common front against all attacks or activities coming from external forces for menacing peace or security *or the democratic institutions* established in our hemisphere."

Its International Significance

The conclusions reached at Lima naturally do not concern the New World exclusively. The work of the Conference must be associated with the strong movement of public opinion in the United States the last few months, a movement of which President Roosevelt is a well-known champion. American public opinion is slowly but surely, realising that peace is indivisible, that democracy is indivisible, and that America must take her due place in the world peace and democratic front. The declaration of Lima, in the framing of which the representative of the United States played the most active and important part, and the recent initiatives taken by the United States in European affairs bear eloquent witness to the above fact. During the Czechoslovakian crisis, President Roosevelt actively supported the suggestion of the Soviet Union for an international conference. The significance of the struggles going on in Spain and China is slowly being realised in its full import in the United States where there is now a powerful current of opinion both among Republicans and Democrats for restoring to the Spanish Government its legal rights. A Fascist victory in Spain would have powerful repercussions in some of the South American States. Nazi propaganda is very active in some of the South American States, and even in the United States, as disclosed by the recent New York Nazi spy trial. It is in this setting that the work of the Lima Conference should be studied.

America Against Munich Policy

The attitude of the United States towards Fascism and Fascist aggression is becoming clearer and clearer day by day. The American Ambassador at Berlin was recalled after the pogroms of November. Senator King has called for a boycott of Germany by the United States and several powerful public men have suggested that Germany must be put in "diplomatic quarantine." The enthusiastic reception given to Anthony Eden in America was an open repudiation of the pro-fascist policy of London and Paris. The spirit of Munich has not poisoned America. Still more significant, the U.S.A. Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes denounced the Nazi regime and its American supporters in violent and sensational terms and when the German Government demanded an apology, the U. S. Government did not even bother to reply to this insolent request. As a result, a violent campaign has been let loose by the Nazi Press against the American Government.

The Lima Conference is a very important event of world-wide significance. The German Government tried its best to sabotage the work of the Conference. Their agents were busy in the lobbies throughout, and the Nazi Press raged about "Yankee Imperialism."

The Lima declaration is a clarion call to the peace and democratic forces of the whole world. It shows that America is prepared to play her part in the international peace and democratic front against Fascism and War.

ECONOMIC HOLDING OF A PEASANT

By Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.L.A.

(General Secretary, All-India Kisan Sabha.)

For a very long time Indian Economists have been busy making estimates of the size of an economic holding of a peasant. Those who wanted such a holding to be made inalienable, or to be declared a family holding like the Egyptian 'Five Feddans Law' or to be made unattachable for debts have desired the statutory fixation of such a limit. Since the Karachi charter of fundamental rights was accepted by the Congress, it has come to have a special meaning to students of puplic finance also, since, according to this charter, such a holding is to be exempted from any liability to pay land revenue or rent. But neither the Madras and Punjab Governments which have desired to exempt all such holdings from land revenue nor the Assam Government which today is trying to remit in part the land revenue payable by small holdings have yet made any scientific estimate of its extent.

Fix Exemption Limit For Taxation

But what then ought to be its extent from the tax-gatherers point of view? Even the most unprogressive modern State has adopted the fundamental principle of taxation that a tax shall be imposed upon a man only in proportion to his ability to pay and bear. This ability has again been considered to arise

only above a minimum annual income needed for the maintenance of the family of the tax-payer on a fairly decent and comfortable standard of living. Hence the exemption limit accepted by every income-tax law of the western countries. Even our Government has accepted Rs. 2,000 per annum as that minimum limit. If we adopt the same principle for our Kisans also, as we ought to in fairness, we must first of all fix a monetary limit of exemption for our Kisans, if not for the whole of India in general, at least for each province. Whichever holding in any particular district or province yields that much net income, after covering the costs of cultivation, will then be considered for the time being as the economic holding; and all those which are smaller will be uneconomic and bigger holdings will pay the tax, not at so much per acre but at so much per every rupee of additional income according to the latest 'slab' system of income-tax. Even if the present basis of land tax at so much per acre is retained for some time, all those holdings which are larger than the economic holding will alone pay the tax on their extents over and above the prescribed exemption limit.

For all practical purposes, both the Congress and the All-India Kisan Sabha have adopted Rs. 500 as the suitable and necessary exemption limit for agriculture.

Costs of Cultivation

Now in view of the fact that different crops are raised in different parts of the same province, yielding varying gross incomes and necessitating differing costs of cultivation, the best thing to do is to take taluk by taluk or district by district, as the local circumstances of crop economy warrant, and take up the most generally prevalent and popular crop as the standard, and make our calculations of income and expenditure with special reference to it. We must also keep in mind the varying nature of the different costs of cultivation, in different localities. For instance, in forest areas, the cost of agricultural commodities, fuel and grazing may be much less, and in deltaic areas labour may be very scarce and so very costly, agricultural implements may be more costly and maintenance of cattle more burdensome.

The next point is that these estimates must necessarily be revised periodically, say, at least once in every five years because the productivity of agricultnre owing to a change in crop economy, efficiency of cultivation, use of better seed, more useful fertilisers, introduction of garden or wet cultivation may be rapidly changing, either for the better or worse, and also the costs of cultivation like labour and cattle may be changing.

Price Fluctuations

Yet another factor will have to be provided for and that is, the fluctuations in prices of agricultural produce. The peasants cannot be adequately protected unless every year a recalculation on the basis of the prices obtaining for every commodity, which has been taken as a typical one for calculating the net incomes of peasants, is made one or two months prior to the collection of the tax and the recalculated sums are notified to our peasants in every village through the village officials.

Economic Holding

Whereas in Madras and Punjab, we have village officials appointed by Government, maintaining detailed re-

cords of land holdings and taxes or rent payable by every Kisan, these processes of calculation and readjustment of rent or revenue payable by every Kisan are not at all very difficult to be worked out. But in provinces like Bengal, where we do not have such a machinery, we can easily depend upon the local village panchayat to discharge this function, of course, in co-operation with the Taluk or Thana Revenue Authorities.

Let it not be forgotten that when compared to the existing system of careful and detailed accounting for every acre and cent of land (or bigha as the case may be) held by a Kisan and the tax payable and paid by him, this work in connection with the economic holding will neither be too much nor too complicated to be achieved.

Critique of Determining Factors

But it is extremely wrong to think that an economic holding can be fixed at such a limit as will simply cover only (*a*) costs of cultivation including labour, seeds, manure etc., (*b*) the interests on investment—viz. capital in securing the land, the capital required for bullocks and instruments of agriculture such as ploughs, harrows, spades, etc., (*c*) rent payable for the holding and (d) cost of irrigation etc.

First of all, all these costs of cultivation etc., specified in this are not properly debitable from gross income from land, to obtain an accurate idea of net income. For, how can we ever hope to reach a net income from land if interest on capital spent in securing the land is also to be deducted? We must recognize the fact that more than 80% of the Kisans' land has come to them from their forefathers. And as for the land which today is in the hands of money lenders and other absentee landlords, the capital in return for which such land has been secured by them, must be considered to have taken the shape of land, which is only one of the factors of production, and which has only to be kept in proper condition for cultivation. Anyhow it must be recognised that land as a factor of production is not on a par with, say, cattle or, implements, which must be completely replaced after a particular period and it is more like capital which is indestructible, so long as necessary care is taken to improve its fertility, retain its surface soil and maintain its productivity by a proper system of rotation of crops, drainage and irrigation or other culture.

Rent Not Part of Costs of Cultivation

Secondly, the rent payable on such a holding ought not to be deducted before finding out if there is any net income. For it is to ascertain the ability of a peasant to pay such a rent that we want to fix the limit of an economic holding. Therefore, what ought to be done is to make our fullest possible estimates of gross income from and expenditure on the cultivation work of that land and then arrive at the figure of net income. If that figure of net income is as much as if not more than, the rent proposed or to be collected, it will mean that the rent does not eat into the very costs of cultivation incurred by a peasant and thus involve him in actual loss over his agricultural operations.

But this method of imposing a rent, once any net income emerges from any holding, is highly regressive in its incidence and prejudicial to the welfare of the Kisan community. What is more,

it completely vitiates the very object of fixing an economic holding.

Kisan's Own Contribution of Labour

Even supposing our estimate of costs of cultivation includes the cost of contribution of labour supplied by a Kisan and his family and also the supervision that he has provided, which will not be the case if the items (a) to (d) alone are kept in kind, where is the guarantee that the total earnings of that Kisan family from such contribution of labour and supervision on their holding will be enough to maintain them at least on a standard of living which is above want and keeps away the wolf of starvation? Therefore, there can be no such idea of "leaving a profit to the cultivator" until and unless a minimum standard of living is assured to every Kisan. And the idea of profit can enter into a Kisan's agricultural economy, for the purposes of a tax-gatherer, only after the barest standard of living is assured to a Kisan.

What Are Real Costs?

Coming to the much more thorny point of cultivation, we find that the Madras Board of Revenue, whose methods of calculation are much more detailed than those of any other provincial government, has had to confess in 1930 that there is no finality in the conception of what constitutes proper costs of cultivation. The Godavari Kistna Re-settlement Economic Enquiry Committee, appointed by Government, of which I was the Secretary, prepared what up to that time was considered to be the most exhaustive and authoritative schedule of costs of cultivation. But it was not accepted by Madras Government. It is to be wondered whether the experts of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, who have been engaged on costs of cultivation of different crops, have attained any better system of calculating such costs of cultivation. But whatever method is adopted, it must be realised that the contribution made by a Kisan and his family to the cultivation of their holding will have to be fully provided for and such is not the case in the items (a) to (d) mentioned in the first estimate of a holding.

No Rent From Uneconomic Holdings

As things are today most of our holdings are so small as not to be able to provide adequate employment for Kisans and their families so as to maintain them above the margin of starvation from out of the costs of cultivation only. Therefore, a contribution, varying inversely with the size of a holding, from the net income itself of the holding has to be made towards the maintenance of a Kisan's family, not even "in reasonable comfort," but at least above the margin of starvation. This liability can and ought never to be avoided by the State and this is exactly what has been shelved by the present system of land revenue and rent with the disastrous consequence of such huge masses of underfed and emaciated peasants. For it must never be forgotten by the tax-gatherer and State that as long as these uneconomic holdings are allowed to remain in the hands of small holders and they have to be cultivated, not by co-operative or collective farms, but by individual small holders, the tax-gatherer will have to stay his hand until these small holders are able to eke out from their cultivation at least the barest subsistence needed, after meeting all the necessary and

legimate costs of cultivation. Further it has also to be realised that a Kisan's whole attention and full time is demanded by the exigencies of work on his holding whether it is big enough or not and he has neither another bow to his string nor a chance of effectively supplementing his agricultural income by any other means so as to maintain himself; for, to most of them agriculture is a whole time job. Therefore, no rent can be collected from any holding which is smaller than the economic holding, which again has to be of that size as the net income which will be enough to maintain a Kisan and his family on or above the standard of subsistence.

Scrap the Whole System

Secondly the rent, if such is allowed at all—and it ought not to be in any rational system of life—can come to be collected not so soon after the subsistence level is passed by a Kisan's total income from land but after due allowances are made for the expenses of education for the Kisan's children upto middle school and ordinary social and conventional necessities and comforts. Thirdly such a rent shall not under any circumstances, absorb more than half the surplus income left over. Fourthly even that amount of rent will be extremely unjust and regressive in its incidence and will perpetuate and may even intensify the existing inequalities of income. Therefore there is no better solution than to do away with the system of rent or land tax altogether and institute income tax on all landed incomes derived either by big Jagirdars or by small peasants.

Under any circumstances, an economic holding cannot be a fixed extent of land in every province for all time. It will be varying from time to time, from taluk to taluk, according to the differing main crops raised and also the varying levels of general prices and those of agricultural commodities in general and commodities of different areas in particular. Inspite of this extremely varying and nebulous character of this limit of an economic holding, it is worthwhile to make an effort to fix it and maintain the machinery to make the suitable adjustments in it from time to time, if we are to make any progress in our agricultural economy, by preventing the undue alienation of land by our peasants, its passing into the hands of absentee landlords, its uneconomic division as between various sons and co-partners of Hindu Kisans and unjust burdens of rent and revenue being piled upon it.

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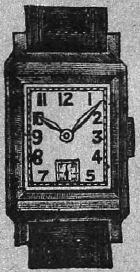

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THE FRENCH GENERAL STRIKE

(A Paris Correspondent)

On Wednesday, the 30th November, over two million workers all over France struck work in protest against the Reynaud decrees, under unprecedented conditions of war-time mobilisation and military and police terror. The Reynaud decrees represent an open and unashamed attempt to solve France's financial problems at the expense of the working class and the middle classes—problems which have been created by deliberate sabotage on the part of Big Capital. The decrees are an open attack on the forty-hour week, on the precious and hard-won social laws of the Popular Front and on the standard of living of the working class and the middle classes generally. The pro-Fascist foreign policy which the Daladier Government has been pursuing during the past few months, under the tutelage of Chamberlain, a policy which reached its culmination with the Munich betrayal, necessitates as its inevitable corollary an orientation towards Fascism in home policy. The Reynaud decrees are nothing but the first open steps in this direction.

The decress produced a tremendous uproar throughout the country. They were rejected unanimously by the C. G. T. (the French T. U. C.) representing nearly 5 million workers, the ex-Servicemen's organisations, the Socialist party, the Communist party and a substantial section of the Radical Party. An overwhelming section of the parliamentary majority on which the Daladier Government is based had thus made their views clear. The cry went up from all these sections for the immediate recall of the Chamber of Deputies and for the submission of the decrees to its vote. It must be remembered that Daladier had given an express promise to the Socialist Party when he was granted plenary powers to promulgate decrees, that the Chamber would be recalled about the 15th November and the decrees submitted to them. Once the Chamber was recalled, it was obvious what fate the Reynaud decrees would receive. Under these conditions, the reactionary financial and industrial oligarchy flushed with their victory of Munich where in order to save their class interests they had sold their country to Hitler, determined to go forward in their anti-democratic offensive against the masses of the French people and their Popular Front of "Bread, Peace and Liberty". The law of the Trusts, monopolies and Banks, the law of Hitler and Chamberlain, was replacing the law of Republican France, of Popular Front France.

The C. G. T. Congress at Nantes in this hour of danger, closed up their ranks and "declared their unanimous opposition to the decrees", as even *Le Temps* was ruefully forced to admit. On the 21st November the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France met. In an historic speech, Maurice Thorez outlined a programme of real social redress and national defence. This programme included the arrest of the agents of international fascism, protection for the family and for children,

maintenance and extension of the social. laws, a complete overhauling of the taxation system which would democratise taxation and compel large-scale capital to make its proportionate contribution, a special levy on large fortunes, reform of the Senate, the nationalisation of existing monopolies and of war industries, the proclamation of the right to work and the organisation of an armed people for the real defence of France and the French people against internal and external enemies. The Communist party called for the immediate removal of the Daladier Government and its replacement by the real Government of the French people. The Party demanded its full share of responsibility and leadership in the task of national redressment and national defence. In the Finance Commission of the Chamber of Deputies, a Socialist motion against the Decrees was defeated only by a narrow majority of 2 votes, with 5 Radicals abstaining after a last-minute threat by Daladier that he would immediately call off impending Chamberlain visit.

Under these circumstances, with Daladier afraid of facing the Chamber and unconstitutionally refusing to call it and consult it on the decrees, the French working-class had no choice but to use its supreme weapon of General Strike in defence of its economic interests. They have not forgotten the lesson of Germany when Bruening's decree-rule paved the way for Hindenburg and Hitler. Applying the decisions of the Nantes Congress, the C. G. T. unanimously decided, in agreement with the Executives of the affiliated Unions, to call a one-day general strike on November 30th as a protest against the decrees. These were the words of Leon Jouhaux, the General Secretary of the C. G. T: "We will not have illegal decree laws replacing social legislation voted by Parliament. We refuse to tolerate decrees which benefit the rich to the detriment of the poor. We will not have a decree law suppressing the 40-hour week". Already on November 24th and 25th numerous strikes broke out in the Paris and Rouen districts and in the North, as a spontaneous movement embracing tens of thousands of metal and chemical workers and miners.

As soon as the partial strikes broke out, Daladier, fortified by the advice of Hitler and Chamberlain, set going the entire State machinery of coercion and deception. For the first time in the history of France, tear-gas was used against the workers as a deliberate provocation. Wholesale arrests of strikers took place and the Courts inflicted severe penalties on them on fantastic charges of 'armed rebellion.' Along with this, the press and the Radio were mobilised in true Goebbel's fashion for intimidating and deceiving the masses and a flood of lies and slanders was let loose against the Trade Union leaders and against the Communist party. The ridiculous attempt of the Daladier gang, the murderers of French democracy and the betrayers of French national security, to pose as the champions of the French people against the "Moscow virus" and to present their policy of the Hitlerisation of France as "national redressment" was rightly rejected by the masses of the French people.

Rejecting all appeals and attempts at mediation nade by Blum, (whose article in the 'Populaire' was characterisod as "seditious" by *Le Temps* the mouthpiece af French high finance), by the Ex-Servicemen's Confederation and

by the Socialist Republican Union, the Daladier Government drove on to break the general strike by every means in its power. On November 29th a decree was promulgated 'requisitioning' all the workers in public services and thus subjecting them to military discipline—a decree which has been challengd as illegal by the C. G. T., by the Socialist party and by the Communist party. On the day of the General Strike, Paris presented an unprecedented spectacle of military seige. Nearly 50,000 troops and Mobile Guards were concentrated in the metropolis, a large proportion brought specially from the Provinces, besides police and detachments of the Tank Corps. Tanks and armoured cars and machine guns, war tribunals and threats of instant dismissal and court martial such were the weapons used to break the strike.

In spite of all this, police and military terrorism, over two million workers struck work on November 30th. For the first 2 hours of the morning before the key Paris transport workers were forced by troops armed with machine guns and by Mobile Guards into working, the General Strike was 100% successful, while in the Provinces the strike remained solid for practically the whole morning. On the whole, the strike was general in the building industry, the chemical industry, the textile industry and the newspaper industry. The dockers and the seamen also stopped completely, while 80% of the miners (the remaining 20% engaged in security services had not been called) and 70% of the men engaged in heavy industry came out. The strike was complete in the North, in the Valencienne region and in Lille while in the more important provincial centres like Marseilles, Lyons, Saint Etienne and Nantes, the percentage of strikers was as high as 80% to 90%. The small shopkeepers and artisans, who were equally hit by the Reynaud decrees, demonstrated their solidarity with the working-class by closing their shops and observing the General Strike in large numbers in Paris and all over the provincial towns. For them, the Popular Front was a real and live thing.

The indecent haste with which the French and the British bourgeois press proceeded to proclaim the General Strike a "fiasco" revealed the jittery state of their nerves rather than reality. Neither severe press censorship nor the arrest and expulsion of genuine pressmen can alter reality. The drastic measure of nation-wide reprisals and sanctions which are being used against the working class following the General Strike both by the Daladier Government and by the magnates of big industry bear this out fully. Lock-outs and wholesale dismissals have been resorted to, both in the privately owned factories and in the nationalised Government factories, on an unprecedented scale against hundreds of thousands of workers all over the country. Arrests and imprisonments are going on wholesale. This furious joint offensive on the part of the reactionary industrial and trust magnates and their tool, the Daladier Government, is intended to smash the Trade Union movement, annul the social laws of the Popular Front including the right to collective contract and bargaining, and to prepare the ground for the suppression of the Cummunist Party at the bidding of Hitler and Chamberlain. Against this Nazi-inspired campaign, the French working-class, united today more firmly than ever it has been before, is fighting back magnificently, thus giving a lead to the wavering sections of the Radical Party representing the peasantry and the middle classes. Here is the Popular Front in action. While the bourgeois reactionaries and their Trotskyist lackeys are celebrating the 'death' of the Popular Front, the masses of the French people are demonstrating in action that the Popular Front is not a mere Parliamentary electoral coalition at the top, but a real mass movement of the widest strata of the common people united in defence of their common interests, in defence of "Bread, Peace and Liberty" against their internal and external enemies.

(*Continued from page 334*)

mean the triumph of reaction. To stabilise his position, he would intensify communal propaganda. The refusal of the Congress to form Coalition Ministry would mean the alienation of the progressive elements, who had supported the Congress. Lastly it would mean the perpetuation of a corrupt pro-British and anti-democratic government.

Fortunately Subhas Bose gave his whole-hearted support to the idea of Coalition Ministry and he won.

The Coalition Ministry was formed with Sjt. Gopinath Badoloi, Congress leader of Assam as Premier. The Cabinet was sworn in on 20th September.

The Shillong Riots

The reactionaries however had not given up the game. The European Planters poured money to bring about the collapse of the new Ministry. Desperate efforts were made to re-unite the forces whose division had caused Saadullah's fall. Serious communal riots took place in Shillong on 27th September immediately after a meeting addressed by Saadullah where blood and fire was emitted against the Congress. Congress men were singled out for attack by hooligans.

These gangster methods however failed to attain their objective. The masses everywhere hailed the fall of Saadullah and rallied round the Congress. This had its inevitable repercussions in the Assembly. Opposition to the Ministry began to weaken.

The no-confidence motion in the Congress Ministry was defeated.

Out of 8 Ministers, only 2 are genuine Congressmen-Bardoloi and Fakhuriddin Others are Coalitionists, not elected on Congress ticket.

Formerly the Ministry had only 54 votes, now 60 out of 107.

The problem to-day is to evolve a programme which will befit a Ministry to whose support the Congress is pledged and which will carry forward the movement for which the Congress stands.

Unity of the Communities of Assam

Saadullah Ministry was based on the division the people and moving one section against the other.

Saadullah Ministry tried to engineer communal trouble, between Khasias and Bengalis. They have now been united under the banner of Congress. 100 Khasia young men have formed a Volunteer Corps, proudly don the Gandhi cap and for the first time Khasias have been drawn into the Congress movement.

Khasias and Garo Hills are not excluded areas. Khasia hills belong to the Khasias and they can move from hill to hill. They pay no rent. But the Government is ruining them by encouraging racing and the liquor-shop. They sell their lands to be able to visit these.

Rani Guidallo's Case

Large parts of Assam have been arbitrarily classified as Excluded Areas. The Ministry must exert all its influence to help to redress popular grievances there and Congress to organise the people. The popular heroine, Rani Guidallo now in Shillong jail is a Naga but the old Ministry falsely declared that she belonged to Manipur State and wanted to send her to the jail there. The present Ministry must exert its pressure on the Governor to set her free. Similarly there is another Naga prisoner under Regulation III.

Excluded Areas

The Excluded Areas are virtually under the rule of the Christian missionaries, and their decisions are for all practical purposes laws! They have spent money in schools and hospitals and this has become their claim to rule over the simple tribal people. If the missionaries are their oppressors, the Marwaris are their direct exploiters; they buy cotton, butter etc. from them and use all the tricks which usury and merchant capital has employed in history.

On the eastern frontier for obvious military reason roads are being rapidly built. The Ministry must see to it that road-construction takes place not according to the Military needs of British imperialism but for the economic prosperity of the Assamese and the simple people of the tribes, recruited as road-builders, are guaranteed decent conditions of work.

Assam Congress must immediately launch a movement against splitting of Assam into the Excluded Areas and denying a part of her people rights enjoyed by the rest and a normal civilised administration. Assam Ministry must support this demand with all its governmental pressure.

Tea Planters

The real rulers of Assam are the European tea-planters. They did their best to bolster up the Saadullah Ministry. It is reported they opened their purse wide to save the old Ministry. Griffith who as a Bengal Civilian had earned notoriety for himself as the *enfant terrible* of the Government Benches in the Central Assembly and is now Chairman of the Tea Market Expansion Board, himself went to Assam to save Saadullah Ministry. Out of 33 crores capital in tea, European is 30 and about 3 Bengali.

The tea planters enjoy weightage. Some of them now think that continued opposition to the present Ministry would be futile and even harmful and are now for responsive co-operation. This is the ruse against which the Ministry must guard itself. There are signs that it might fall a victim. It is reported that Bardoloi Ministry has sought the advice of tea-planters on taxation.

Not the advice of the planters but the interests of the plantation workers must guide the legislative work of the Ministry.

Virtual Serfs

The plantation workers live the life of virtual serfs, segregated from the rest of the world. No union organiser can enter the area, the workers can't raise their heads. After the famous strike of 1921, there has been practically no labour movement. The Leftists and Congress Socialists are now attempting to penetrate the hitherto banned areas and start Trade Unions. These efforts must be welcomed and encouraged. It is the task of the Socialists to place before the Ministry a Charter of the minimum demands of the Tea Plantation workers for immediate legislation and get going the campaign of agitation and organisation on its basis. It would change the shape of things in Assam and give a really popular basis to the Ministry.

Peasantry

Sylhet is permanently settled. In Sylhet and Cachar there are no such big landlords as the Rajas of Bengal, but exploitation is intense. There are cases where the land-revenue is Rs. 200 while the rent is 5,000-. The agitation in the country-side is along the lines that Assam Kisans must at least enjoy the same rights as their Bengal brothers.

No enhancement of rent, fixity of tenure fixity of rent—these are the slogans of the Kisan Sabha.

Ministerial Congressmen do not like Kisan Sabhas but they are growing though they are not yet as strong as in Bihar.

The Assam Ministry is more advanced than the Sind and on the same level as the Frontier Ministry. Assam is a deficit province and no economic stability is possible without extra taxation on tea-planters or on Agricultural Income Tax on incomes above two thousand. The latter course alone will bring in about 40 lacs and balance the budget. Unearned feudal incomes must be taxed, foreign planters made to disgorge what they wring out of our workers. Thus alone can the Ministry finance measures of popular welfare. The foremost task is to get the Ministry to adopt a sound taxation policy. This is the work before the Left.

The Socialists already lead the Sylhet Congress Committee and are very strong in the Congress as a whole. They are the organisers of the Kisan movement too. If they can immediately run a mass campaign over issues that will simultaneously move the Kisan Sabhas and the Congress Committees and organise the plantation workers, the Ministry would get the strength of the people behind it and work to advance the peoples' interests. If there is delay the initiative will be retained and used by non-Congress elements in the interest of planters and landlords and against the movement of the people.

NOTES ON BOSE'S PLAN OF ACTION

By B T. Ranadive

I. Subash Bose's plan constitutes the first attempt of a National leader to replace criticism of the present policy by a concrete and alternative *Line of action*. The Left must welcome it as such and recognise in it the initial step to depart from the present policy of constitutionalism and compromise on all fronts. It has an added significance since it comes from one who is not only a left leader, but a national leader.

II. The main features of the plan are as follows:—(1) The Congress must seize the initiative and give up waiting for a gesture from the government to modify the Federation. (2) A minimum national demand must be immediately formulated and submitted as an "ultimatum" to the British Government. This national demand must go beyond mere modifications of Federal scheme and ask for substantial transfer of power, such as control over Army, Civil Service, Foreign Policy etc. (3) A definite time-limit should be given to the government to fulfil this demand failing which mass-resistance or satyagraha will have to be started. (It is expected that the government would not easily invite the Congress to a fight, (4) As part of this plan, Coalition Ministries should be formed in the remaining provinces, especially Bengal and Sind, to put the Congress in a strategic position in at least ten provincesi With Ministries in ten provinces the Congress will be in a position to paralyse and administration any time. *The Ministries will resign only as a last resort, they are expected to function and aid the outside struggle* to enforce the demands. (5) To be prepared for the final eventuality, the present drift into "constitutionalism" must be stopped, and a more militant and fighting mentality should be created. It is to be created, of course, round the national demand.

III. As against the policy of the drift, President Bose has presented a concrete plan of action. No more waiting for the Federation to be imposed, no more leaving the initiative to Imperialism, this constitutes the central point of the plan.

The dominant line to-day is to wait for Imperialism to make the gesture. It is a line which seeks only to modify the Federal scheme and shuts its eyes to the strength of the Congress, to the strength of the mass movement of the Kisans, workers, states subjects. If that strength is co-ordinated and fully used, our demands will become irresistible. But the Right wing turns away from it and pins its faith on minor modifications, when the issue of power can be directly raised. Subhash Bose's plan leaves the new familier ground of Federation. If there are to be peace parleys, they shall not be on the basis of the Federal Scheme, but on the basis of the National Demand, *on the basis of a concrete struggle for the transfer of power*. The Nation to-day is strong, it can easily pass on to the offensive. It need not wait till Imperialism decides to impose the ill-fated Federal scheme. On the other hand, now is the time to mobilise all our forces, and demand the abolition of the existing Central Government and its replacement by a Government embodying the National Will. The plan thus runs counter to the entire logic of the line of the Right.

IV. Since the inauguration of the New Constitution, the Right has allowed the initiative to pass into the hands of Imperialism. It was obvious during the Munich crisis, when the Working Committee sat with folded arms and showed a miserable lack of initiative, Imperialism has realised this, and therefore, is unwilling to take any further step which might bring it into collision with the people. It has held the Federal scheme in abeyance, till a bargain is struck or till it finds itself sufficiently strong to impose the scheme. In any case, like the Right, it wishes to avoid struggle at the present juncture. Bose's plan is based on this very weakness of Imperialism. The National Demand, together with the fixing of time-limit will force Imperialism to take a position and it will either give way before the National Will or challenge it. It keeps the initiative in the hands of the people, gives them all the advantages of offensive against a strategically weak opponent. If international situation has any meaning for us—Palestine, War-menace—it is this, *strike the blow when the enemy is confounded, otherwise you will waste a historic opportunity*. The firmer the blow the greater the chances of victory. This has become a vital question for the national struggle. A repetition of the 1914 performance is becoming more and more likely. Unless matters are precipitated and a blow is given to the existing self-complacent atmosphere, the nation runs the risk of being fooled into an inglorious and petty compromise. The plan of President Bose, if adopted, will enable us to deliver a blow exactly when Imperialism cannot stand it. The alternative is surrender.

V. As distinguished from the Right, one of the basic features of the plan is the call for mobilisation of mass reserves, the call for a militant mentality with regard to action. To-day the whole energy of the Congress leadership is concentrated to keep the struggle in check or isolate it. Things have already reached a breaking point. Mass struggle is bursting through the narrow limits set by the leadership. (Bihar Satyagraha, Bombay strike). Instead of harnessing the struggle for the common aim, the policy of the Right is dissipating it and isolating the Congress from it. There can be no unity, no strengthening of the Congress, unless the present ban on struggles, is raised. This can be done only if the Congress itself starts speaking in terms of struggle, mobilisation etc. The call of Bose for creating a fighting mentality will not only set the Congress on move but bring about a closer unity between the existing struggle and the Congress, and bring about their co-ordination. The ultimatum to the British Government will bring forth the enthusiasm of thousands and change the atmosphere completely. People will once more begin to look upon the mass movement as the primary and ministries as secondary sources of strength. In short, it will end in reversing the existing state of affairs and put the masses once more on the map.

VI. Formation of Coalition Ministries is an integral part of the plan. There is no doubt that Coalition Ministries in Bengal and Sind will transform the atmosphere and give a strategic advantage to the Congress and the people. The power of the Communalists to create mischief, and sow dissensions, will be curtailed, and the British Government will be faced with the prospect of a parliamentary crisis in at least ten provinces. Since Ministers play such an important part in the scheme, it is necessary to lay down the conditions under which alone they can act as the spear-head of popular agitation. Congress ministries act as a check on the mass movement whenever they fail to fulfil the pledges given in the Manifesto. With out a bolder policy of implementing the Congress programme, ministries will not play a progressive role. This is more true of the Coalition Ministries. There should not be Coalition Ministries with parties and groups who will prove inimical to the Congress programme. The criterion should not be the stability of a Ministry, but mobilisation for struggle. The left, therefore, must demand, that Congress and Coalition Ministries must adopt a more vigorous policy of extending civil liberties and democratic and economic rights of the people, and push through the agrarian and labour programme of the Congress. Without this safeguard, all talk of utilising the Ministries as strategic points of attack is meaningless.

VII. One of the failures of the plan is its silence on the question of States People's struggle. In any future struggle, this unity must play an important part. The Left should insist that the National Demand be addressed, on behalf of the Indian people as a whole. The plan is also silent regarding the relation between the Congress and mass organisations. Here again, the call must go to all mass organisations to stand by the Congress and be ready to enter the fight. The economic demands should be made an Integral part of the fight for national demand. Bose's plan as outlined at present, will mainly appeal to the conscious Congressmen. The task of the left should be to make it live in the consciousness of the masses.

VIII. With all these shortcomings the plan is essentially one of ending the present stalemate. It helps to focus the attention of the people on the concrete national demand and replaces the vague and general slogan and opposition to Federation. It chooses a strategic moment to deliver the challenge and by fixing the time-limit, sets a definite aim and an immediate aim before the Nation. And above all, it helps in releasing the mass forces and activising Congress ranks, creates an atmosphere of struggle, when struggle is absolutely necessary, if the present stalemate is to be ended. It will render compromise difficult and upset the Right plan of accepting Federation with certain modifications. It will set the Congress moving, help in fixing the attention of the Congress on the masses, rather than on the Ministries and thus bring about a sudden change-over in National politics. Once the forces are released, once the Congress sanctions it the pace of the struggle depends entirely on the activity of the Left.

All those who do not think of struggle and Federation in the abstract but who are concerned with taking the next step towards action, must welcome the plan and enthusiastically support it at Tripuri. The question before the Left is, how to take the next step, how to pass on to the offensive? This next move does not lie through a general declaration of war against the Federation, or a general declaration of complete Independence, but lies through an immediate offensive against Imperialism, assault on the existing Central Government and the Provincial Constitution. The plan, in spite of its shortcomings, gives the Left an immediate and alternative platform of struggle and must become the mobilising point for the entire Left. It will be the fault of the Left if it does not suceed in making the plan a central issue at Tripuri and replace oppositional criticism of the Right by concrete plan of action. Ultimatum *vs* marking time, National Demand *vs* Federation, mass mobilisation *vs* Stable Ministries, these ought to be our slogans at Tripuri in supporting Bose's plan.

It should be borne in mind that this is the only plan of action before the people. Once the opportunity is lost at Tripuri, the rank and file will not have a

voice in shaping national policy for a year. And this year is going to be a strategic year, a year of turning-point in Indian and world history. At Tripuri, a decisive step towards action must be taken. Rejection of Bose's plan will mean rejection of struggle in the most important period of our national history.

To overcome the defects of the plan, the following should be added: (1) Concrete anti-war agitation–a main plank (2) A bolder ministerial policy to implement the Congress programme (3) A call to all mass organisations with emphasis on the economic demands (4) Mass rallies and mobilisations throughout the entire country during the period of ultimatum. (5) Immediate organisation of volunteer corps as the advanced army of propagandists and agitators.

A SCIENTIST'S VIEW OF MARXISM

By D. D. Kosambi

(**The Marxist Philosophy and the Science** *by J. B. S. Haldane F. R. S. (London), George Allen & Unwin, 1938. pp. 183, Price 5 sh.*)

The long needed and perhaps the first really good book in English on the subject of Marxism in modern science will have to be read by every educated man who is acquainted with the English language. Prof. Haldane's authoritative work in biology, brilliant manner and ability of expressiou, wide reading in many branches of science, and a thorough grounding in the humanities which most scientists lack make him the fittest person to write a book of this sort. Readers of Marxism in this country have to struggle along with such literature as filters through the not-so-benevolent despotism of the imperial customs and the unofficial censorship. The technical works of Engels and Lenin have to be read out of their context, without reference to the writers with whom they had entered into controversy. A book like the one reviewed here is, therefore, priceless in that it gives a well-rounded view of contemporary science, and can be regarded as a substantial addition to anyone's general education. Its value to non-Marxists will derive from the fact that the author himself has developed his Marxism and its applications to science at a comparatively recent, mature, stage of his scientific career. He takes pains not to plunge immediately into technical arguments without explaining his terms and without giving impartially selected mass of scientific data to which the theory is to be applied.

Of the actual sciences considered, the chapters on biology and sociology are unquestionably the best; the first because of the auther's specialization, the second because the most important, vital, and developed of Marxism is surely its social aspect. The chapter on the *quantum* theory and chemistry shows an inviting topic well handled. The one on psychology, as the author himself notices, is the least satisfactory in the whole book, probably because the data available in this science cannot compare in quality and quantity with that of the others. The remaining chapter, on mathematics and cosmology, will be considered in detail in the body of this review.

The question naturally arises: can dialectical materialism be used as an aid to scientific research? The answer, at least as far as concerns biology, is decidedly in the affirmative; not only the Soviet Scientists, but even western European workers are making conscious use of the Marxist approach to scientific problems (p. 7, p. 46, p. 118). For other aspects of science, an answer has not been attempted in this book, and at least in subjects like mathematics, it seems to me that no satisfactory answer exists. I am tempted to recall one example of interest to the average reader. The ex-

plorer Vilhjalmar Stefansson (cf. *The Friendly Arctic*) had to follow an arctic coast line well covered by snow. He did it by a zig-zag method, first making sure that he was on land, then heading out from the estimated proper direction so as to be over the sea; in each case, the actual fact was ascertained by digging through the snow till earth or sea-ice were reached. This thesis and antithesis brought him to a destination on the invisible coast line a good deal beyond his starting point. The analogy with successive approximations in mathematics, say by simple continued fractions, is clear. But the difficulty remains that this is an explanation, not a discovery made by the conscious use of Marxism.

If Marxism provides a valid explanation of historical development in general, it must also be of importance in science; for, to a considerable extent, science and the history of science are inseparable. Shakespeare's dramas do not imply the existence or foreknowledge of Plato's *Dialogues*. But the differential calculus taught today does imply the work of Newton and Leibniz as well as its later developments. He who works with the calculus will not have to read anything written by Newton and Leibniz, and may conceivably avoid learning anything about them except their names, but he cannot avoid reproducing in his mind an abridged and somewhat re-arranged history, separated from dates and persons, of tl subject. It seems to me that it is precisely this characteristic that will make a Marxist approach to science, useful to scientists.

Ever since the *Daedalus-Icarus* days, Haldane provokes comparison with two of his countrymen—H. G. Wells and Bertrand Russell. The first of these had a biologist's training and a considerable literary talent, but his utopias have inevitablity without practical means of realization, and can at best only shine from afar like the distant stars. The world has to be changed by some process which cannot be counted upon by merely human reformers; the food of the gods, a comet laden with benevolent gas, a Martian invasion; then only can human nature push on towards a definitely better world, while useful as a form of escape, and in the case of a splendid fantasy like the *Time Machine* as a *memento mori* for the whole of mankind, one looks In vain for any guidance in Wellsian scientific romances: the actual methods proposed by him in works which do not purport to be romantic can only be characterised as laughable. Russell, on the other hand, started out in the very forefront of contemporary thinkers, and the *Principia Mathematica* still remains an outstanding achievement. In addition he has a distinguished career as a friend of intellectual liberty. Yet, in his work *Power*, one finds on the very first page the admission. "A large portion of humanity, it is true, is obliged to work so hard in obtaining necessaries that little energy is left over for other purposes", and there follow some three hundred pages where this large portion is ignored. Power can and should be classified for the mental excercise, but to forget that on statistical average, individual desire for power cancel out; that only such are ultimately reinforced as appear to be of some advantage to that large hard-working portion; to forget that the energy needed for betterment of humanity has to be released from the oppressed toilers, is to create the painful spectable of a first rate mind functioning *in vacuo*. For such a brilliant Faustian Homunculus sealed up in his bottle, there will always remain the attraction of pure intellect, but the impact of reality must necessarily damage the protective covering,

Contrast this with the vitalising attitude of Haldane. "I know that the Marxist interpretation of our present troubles, economic, political, and ideological, is at any rate something which makes for hope and faith in the future. I also regard it as substantially true......We Marxists believe that a very big social change is inevitable in this country, but we believe that it is still possible, if that change is intelligently guided, that this country may avoid not only foreign war, but civil war......We believe that in so far as we can rationalize these changes, in so far as we can bring them about, not by crude violence but by the application of a definite theory, we are likely to avoid some of the evils which were brought about by the earlier

changes in the methods of production. We believe, then, that change is inevitable. It is for us to make it as rational, as human, and as quick as possible."

I believe that fundamental processes are capable of being regarded from a Marxist point of view, and there will ultimately be the possibility of making new discoveries, saving time, directing effort by means of a Marxist approach even to scientific problems. After all, the attention of scientists has been called to the method only recently. Prevalence of local political hostility, conscious or sub-conscious realization of dependence on bourgeois-capitalist-imperialist forms of production, and sheer laziness prevents most non-Soviet academicians from risking a comfortably grooved mode of life to satisfy any itch of curiosity or to make a painful approach to a fundamentally novel method. Evolution, relativeity, aneasthesia, psycho-analysis have aroused violent and even theological passions, but have passed into the body of the current scientific wealth of mankind ; Marxism will have its turn. There is a distinct if transient flavour of personality to a good deal of scientific innovation and to its reception; Maupertuis over-flattening the earth to prove Newton's theory, Goethe shuddering at the possibility that "the beautiful white light might have arisen out of dark lights"—apparently a mistaken interpretation of Fraunhofer lines. The good Marxist will recall forgotten controversies over spontaneous generation, and will strive to hasten the inevitable by quiet application of theory to his own subject.

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